

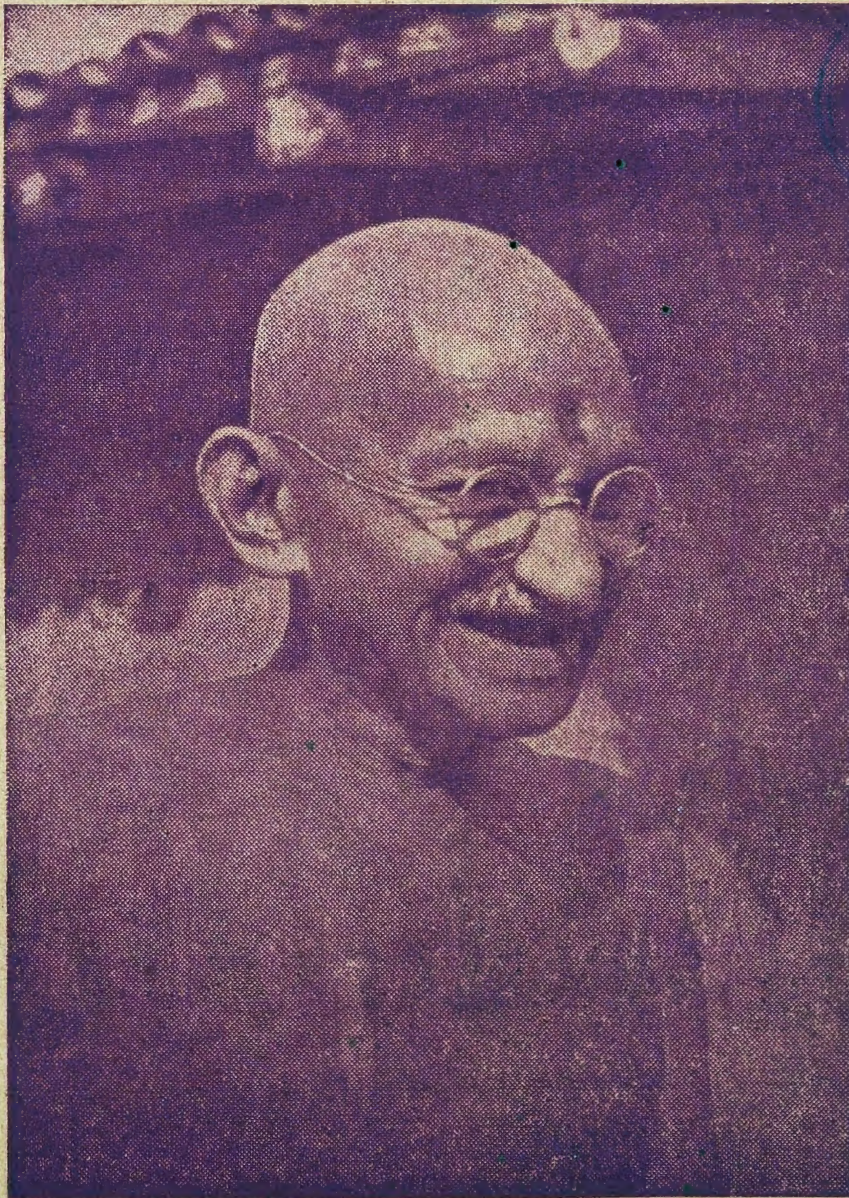
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The Khadi World

Vol. 1

FEBRUARY 1952

No. 8



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ASSOCIATION



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GANDHIJI'S LAST MESSAGE ON CHARKHA

FOR GENERATION OF POWER OF THE CRORES

In his after-prayer speech Gandhiji referred to his discussions at the recent meeting of the Charkha Sangh at the Harijan Colony. Why had he laid so much emphasis on the Charkha? Years ago when he first started talking of the charkha, he did not know that it was still a living industry in the Punjab and some parts of Gujarat and Kathiawad. It was first thought of as a means of supplementing the income of the poor kisan and the village women. Later on he discovered the tremendous power hidden in the charkha. That power was the power of non-violence which could not be defeated by the mightiest military force. It was this realization which had made him call the wheel the symbol of non-violence.

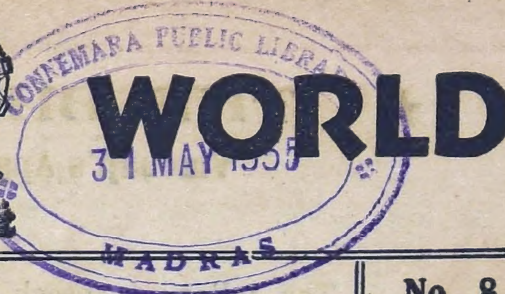
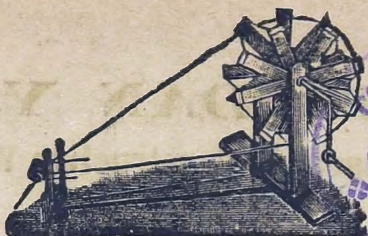
They all knew the history of the spinning wheel, the history of the Dacca Muslin and all its associations. In those days the spinning wheel was the symbol of our slavery. The artisans had to work at the rate fixed by their masters and they could not say no. The same wheel, plied with the full consciousness of its potentialities, had become the symbol of freedom. If all men and women and children of age out of the forty crores of India plied the wheel, they would spin all the yarn required for weaving enough khadi for the use of the millions and save crores of rupees. But that was not of great consequence. The greatest thing he valued was the power generated by the co-operative effort of these forty crores of people. Was there any other occupation which could employ such numbers without exploiting anyone? The mills could never do that. They could employ only a few lakhs leaving under partial or full unemployment the millions. In the past they had plied the wheel say, for his sake, but without understanding its full import. That was why the wheel was largely discarded. He wanted them to take to it now with deliberation and understanding. It meant freedom from exploitation. If it meant non-violence, as it did, it also meant a moral life. If they did that they would never discard it again, they would have no communal or other quarrels and they would become the harbingers of peace for the whole world.

18th December, 1947

From 'Delhi Diary'

The

KHADI



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THE SQUARE OF SWARAJ

MAHATMA GANDHI

I am going to say nothing new today. The cult of the spinning wheel is 18 years old. I said in 1918 that we could win Swaraj through the spinning wheel. My faith in the ability of the spinning wheel is as bright today as when I first declared it in 1918. It has become richer for the experience and experiment of all these years.

But you should know the implications of the wheel or khadi its product. It is not enough that one wears khadi on ceremonial occasions or even wears it to the exclusion of all other cloth, if he surrounds himself with Videshi in everything else. Khadi means the truest Swadeshi spirit, identification with the starving millions.

Let there be no mistake about my conception of Swaraj. It is complete independence of alien control and complete economic independence. So at one end you have political independence, at the other economic. It has two other ends. One of them is moral and social, the corresponding end is Dharma, i. e. religion in the highest sense of the term. It includes Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, etc., but is superior to them all. You may recognize it by the name of Truth, not the honesty of expedience, but the living Truth that pervades everything and will survive all destruction and all transformation. Moral and social uplift may be recognized by the term we are used to, i. e. non-violence. Let us call this the square of Swaraj, which will be out of shape if any of its angles is untrue. In the language of the Congress we cannot achieve this political and economic freedom without truth and non-violence in concrete terms, without a living faith in God, and hence moral and social elevation.

POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

By political independence I do not mean an imitation of the British House of Commons, or the Soviet rule of Russia, or

the Fascist rule of Italy, or the Nazi rule of Germany. They have systems suited to their genius. We must have ours suited to ours. What that can be is more than I can tell. I have described it as Ramraj, i. e. sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority. The Congress constitutions of Nagpur and Bombay, for which I am mainly responsible, are an attempt to achieve this type of Swaraj.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

Then take economic independence. It is not a product of industrialization of the modern or the Western type. Indian economic independence means to me the economic uplift of every individual, male and female, by his or her own conscious effort. Under that system all men and women will have enough clothing - not the mere loin cloth, but what we understand by the term necessary articles of clothing - and enough food including milk and butter which are today denied to millions.

REAL SOCIALISM

This brings to socialism. Real socialism has been handed down to us by our ancestors who taught: "All land belongs to Gopal, where then is the boundary line? Man is the maker of that line, and he can therefore unmake it." Gopal literally means shepherd; it also means God. In modern language it means the State, i. e. the people. That the land today does not belong to the people is too true. But the fault is not in the teaching. It is in us who have not lived up to it.

I have no doubt that we can make as good an approach to it as is possible for any nation, not excluding Russia and that without violence. The most effective substitute for violent dispossession is the wheel with all its implications. Land and all property is his who will work it. Unfortunately the workers are or have been kept ignorant of this simple fact.

[From the Speech on the Exhibition grounds at Faizpur Congress on 27-12-1936]

★ THE BHOODAN YAJNA ★

Vinobaji's Appeal to Constructive Workers

The following speech of Vinobaji at the meeting of constructive workers of U. P. at Mathura on 1-11-'51 gives a comprehensive review of the origin, progress and the philosophy of his great Bhoodan Yajna and appeals to Sarvodaya workers to take up the problem of land as a national programme of supreme and paramount importance just at this critical time of the world.

THE ORIGIN IN TELANGANA

When I left Wardha for Shivarampalli no such idea had crossed my mind. Had it done so, I would have surely asked for land donations on my way to Shivarampalli. After the termination of Shivarampalli Conference I went to Telangana with a completely open mind. I had the desire to see for myself the conditions prevailing there. I had no notion then that a solution of the problem would also suggest itself. The problem and the solution both came naturally in their course. During my tour I was faced immediately with a specific demand for land. Some people in a particular village demanded land from me. I asked for it of those who had it, and my request was immediately met. It was an unprecedented event that a man asked for land and received it so easily. Instances, of course, can be cited of donations of land to institutions such as temples, *Maths* etc. But an instance of land-gifts for the landless was quite a new one. A man does not find it difficult to part with some money, but to give away land in charity is felt like sharing one's body with others. We all know the story of the *Mahabharath*. The Pandavas asked Duryodana to give them only five villages. But he refused to give them even as much land as could be held on the point of a needle. These days the price of land has shot up. And the people's greed for land has increased in proportion to the rise in its price. Attachment for land has also increased. In this context of things to make an appeal for land and to get a response to it was no easy task.

But I began asking for land with utmost humility and love. I am not able to express with what humility and devotion I proceeded with my work and in two months the people gave me 12,000 acres of land for *Daridra-narayana*. I have appointed a Committee there, which has, according to the latest figure, received about three thousand more acres of land in donation.

MONETARY FUNDS

Owing to the monsoon I returned to Wardha and resumed my agricultural work. You know that I have become a cultivator these days. I have been lately seized with a mania of running institutions on manual labour alone. I am convinced that without doing so our institutions can no longer function vigorously. It is not proper that after the passing away of Bapu, people should still be asked to give money donations and we should carry on our work with the support of donated money. I hope that the Gandhi Memorial Fund will now be the last monetary fund collected in the name of Gandhiji. Hereafter none can and should collect monetary fund in his name. Hereafter we must build up labour, for though people will be kind enough to give money for the sake of Gandhiji, it will spell our ruin.

EXTENSION OF TELANGANA DISCOVERY

I was contemplating about my future programme when I received a call from Delhi. In my farewell speech at Wardha, I had said that now my non-violence as also people's good will were on trial. The land which I received in Telangana had the history of Communist atrocities in the background. Hot ground is cooled by rain drops. But since there was no such hot ground elsewhere, it was feared that a similar success might not attend my appeal for land-gifts. But this would mean that Sarvanasha (total destruction) must precede Sarvodaya (the rise of all). If it was to be so interpreted, it was an augury of a great disaster.

SARVODAYA WITHOUT SARVANASHA

Some people hold that violence is necessary even for the success of non-violence. But the experiment of non-violence met with as much success in this pilgrimage as in Telangana. Thus it proved that Sarvodaya was possible without *Sarvanasha*. The people of India are ready for Sarvodaya.

OUR UNIQUE AUSTERITY

In the Sarvodaya Conference held in Sagar (M. P.) on the 2nd of October last, I had observed that for the solution of the land problem of India we shall need one fifth of the land for the landless. If this one fifth part is obtained from landlords through donations made with love and faith, a great revolution will be wrought in India. In Europe also efforts in this direction are afoot. The *Upanishads* say that in God's realm donors earn encomiums. *Dana* (charity) is not an occasional duty. Like eating, it is an item of one's daily work. Indeed, *Gita* has placed before man a programme of constructive work in the form of *Yajna-dana-tapas* (sacrifice-charity austerity) for everyday practice. Fallen as we are, there are many in our country who practise one or the other type of austerity. I am on a walking tour at present, but there are hundreds of men and women who tour like me. Jain *munis* (monks) and *shravikas* (nuns) also do so. May be, some of these walking tours have something irrational about it, but the fact stands that austerity in the form of pilgrimages on foot has never ceased to be practised in our country. Gandhiji maintained that our country has continuously developed non-violence. People numbering in crores have given up meat-eating. What an amount of austere practice must have taken place to bring about this change in men's lives? I do not want to enter into a discussion of merits and demerits of meat-eating here; but it indicates how our people have always practised austerity in various manners. Similarly our country has a history of its own in the field of renouncement of arms. And it should be remembered that even when India was equipped with sufficient military strength, she never invaded other countries. All this history shows that India is a country of ceaseless austerity.

The way in which we won our freedom through non-violence is unparalleled and unique in the history of struggles for freedom in the world. All these achievements are symbolical of that austerity, which is characteristic of our country's traditions. In the atmosphere of India austerity is possible to be manifested in ever new forms. With this faith I have fixed the target of five crores of acres for land-gifts.

CHARKHA STANDS TO OUST THE MILL

But this is not a mission which I alone can carry out. Of course, I speak subject to God's will. He has His own ways of doing things and He may get it done through even me alone. But speaking humanly, if it goes

on at its present pace, it would take five hundred years to finish it. Hence if we want to achieve it sooner, and within a specified time, we will have to bring into its service a hundred-fold more devotion, energy and effort. It is a critical period in the history of our national movement. If non-violence fails to solve this the greatest of our problems, we may be sure that the whole fabric of Gandhiji's constructive work is in danger of being destroyed. On the other hand, if it succeeds in this sector, it will make for all-round success. Khadi, Harijan work and every other constructive work will also advance. People ask me: Should all of us join together and pool our efforts to this task? I wonder why they cannot see the obvious. But there are three categories of men: to some a hint is sufficient for understanding; others require to be told in so many words; there are still others who do not grasp, even if they are so told. I heard the call of the time and set out on the mission notwithstanding my old age. I worked for khadi for thirty years but today I am using all my energy for this work, because I can see it includes khadi and all the rest of the constructive programme. Khadi signifies an ideology and I am glad that it does not spread like *beedi* and tea. Khadi means a revolution—the acceptance of a new way of life. The charkha is indeed very old, but then it did not symbolise a revolution. They plied the *Charkha* then because if they did not, they would have to go without cloth. But the present day Charkha does much more: it stands to oust the mill. It is not the hand alone that turns it now, but intelligence, devotion, and faith—all have to combine and co-operate with the hand. Hence even for the promotion of khadi, it should be supported by the means of resolving the present problem. Therefore whatever else we may do, the most pressing need is that of resolving the land problem. And if we succeed there, we will be acclaimed as having shown a new way out to the world. The world is terribly tired today. It is getting more and more entangled in the vicious circle of ever increasing armaments. It is grouping in the dark and does not believe that non-violence can help it out of this gloom. Therefore, if our workers choose to engage themselves in this work, they will be but doing the very thing which has to be done at present. If they keep away from it they are committing a mistake.

I have been reminded that I should do something in the way of Harijan work also

in the course of my pilgrimage. This is like reminding the Ganga to water the trees on its banks as it flows on. It will do it as a matter of course. It does not need to be told about it. A major portion of the lands that we are getting will go to Harijans. I desire that those of our people who are engaged at present in scavenging should take to farming. Their present work is not worthy of human dignity.

So it is my considered view that at this juncture the entire community of Sarvodaya workers should and must devote itself to this work of the land-gift mission.

SARVODAYA SAMAJ

I am held partly responsible for setting the pattern of the Sarvodaya Samaj. They complain that the Samaj lacks an essential attribute of an organization, namely, rules and regulations. My plea is: there are enough of these rule-bound organizations. Let there be one which merely advises and does not command. The workers in the Sarvodaya Samaj are free to accept the advice or reject it as they please. But just see, even without any compulsion so many of you have gathered here to confer together! The truth of the matter is that a thing gets going and spreads if it appeals to the people and invokes in them the sense of duty. This is how our Samaj works without any recourse to an external discipline. Let those who have eyes to see look at this gathering of responsible workers and judge for themselves how responsible workers come here voluntarily merely on an invitation.

This insistence on rules arises from the fact that people are ignorant of the power of the soul. I do not know if there is anything more degrading than this ignorance of one's intrinsic power, the power of the soul. What power have I to summon you here? It was love which prompted these workers to respond to our humble invitation. So we must realize that there is an idea behind all this, and hence if we want to reach our target of one crore acres of land in Uttar Pradesh, we shall have to bend our strength and talent to this work.

CONGRESS AND OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES

One thing more. Jawaharlalji wants to purify the Congress. I am not associated with the Congress in any way, and yet I

issued a statement in support of Pandit Nehru. But unless an organization accepts a programme of service involving sacrifice, it cannot purify itself. It is true that a programme of self-sacrifice may create for the workers domestic and other difficulties. But that is unavoidable. The teachings of Jesus created domestic quarrels. The same happened in the case of Gandhiji, because both placed programme of self-sacrifice before the people.

New parties are coming into existence these days. They say that there must be an opposition in a democracy, otherwise it cannot work properly and may well develop into a dictatorship. I do not disapprove of this development. But when these parties also enter into a contest for election, they too practise corruption. I would therefore advocate the setting up of a party which will keep strictly away from power. It will be composed of workers totally detached from power, devoted to ceaseless service, with unfailing adherence to the principles of right conduct and morality. They will serve the people and keep in touch with them through service and disseminate among them the right kind of knowledge. The existence of a party of this type only will purify the administration.

MOST MOMENTOUS WORK

Lastly I ask you all to give yourselves heart and soul to the mission we have undertaken and make it successful. I can pass through only three or four villages while I go forth across the district. I would like that the workers should during the period collect land-donations all over the district and report them to me in the village where I may be at the moment even as rivers join together and flow into the sea. You will have to send your workers over the entire area and in every *tahsil*. We need hundreds of workers for this work. Then only, can we meet in an appreciable measure the demand of one crore acres that I have made of your province. Then only can we hope for a revolution — a real non-violent revolution. Else I am afraid we shall have to wind up all our activities, activities which Gandhiji had initiated and left to our care. It is the most momentous work to be done at the moment.

(“*Harijan*,” January, 5th 1952)

The Necessity for a Pledge for Boycott

DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR

Harijan (Dec. 1, 1951) had published the following resolution passed by the constructive workers of Tamil Nad:

"The Constructive Workers of Tamil-nad feel strongly the menace of—Oil, Rice and other mills. They view with alarm the Government's policy which goes on increasing the number of these exploiting mills. The Sangh decides that a suitable area may be selected where a proper atmosphere prevails to intensify the struggle against these mills and that the people be educated for voluntary boycott of mill goods....."

The other day the Maharashtra Provincial Sarvodaya Sammelan held at Bordi also passed the following resolution:

"One of the objectives of the Sarvodaya Samaj is that villages, separately or jointly as regional units, should be made self-sufficient in regard to the primary necessities of life. It means that the raw materials produced in a particular area-unit should be converted partially or fully into finished goods within that area..... It is essential in order to protect these village industries that appropriate restrictions should be placed on the rival mechanized industries there."

The first resolution seeks to criticize the Government while the second wants it to impose restrictions on rival machine industries for protecting the village industries. Now the criticism of the Government on this score is not confined merely to the two resolutions cited above; it is wide-spread and is voiced by almost every constructive worker. But the remarkable fact about it is that the constructive workers themselves give no protection to these village industries.

Really if one looks at it a little closely, one finds that the Government is guilty of no more failure than what the constructive institutions and workers are themselves guilty of. We help the village industries and encourage them in other ways but we stop at that and do not protect them. After all what do we mean by protection? When we ask for protection from the Government, plainly speaking what we want is that the Government should ban certain things which thwart the progress of such village industries. But we too do not practise it ourselves in our personal lives or in the management of our own institutions by putting a ban on such articles. If we, who pride ourselves on being the champions of village industries, do not boycott the mill articles, how can we expect the Government, which has no such faith in these industries, to undertake this work?

It is therefore a welcome sign that people are coming to realize the need for a boycott of mill-made things. But mere resolutions are of little value. Workers and institutions will have to pledge themselves to the use of village industry products only, and to boycott mill products atleast in regard to articles of food and clothing. They will also have to carry on an extensive educative campaign all over the country to prepare the people to take the same pledge. Unless we campaign for this boycott movement and prepare public opinion in our favour, we may succeed in operating a *ghani* here and a *dhenki* there, but we cannot move even a step forward in the direction of destroying the centralized capitalist economy and creating a decentralized, self-sufficient social order in its place.

"*Harijan*", January 5th, 1952

If hand-spun and hand-woven khadi whether cotton, wool or silk, is to be the order of the day, what is the place of mill-cloth in the national economy, is the question often asked. If millions of villagers could receive, understand and take up the message of the spinning wheel today, I know there is no room for mill-cloth, whether foreign or Indian, in our domestic economy, and that the nation will be all the better for its entire disappearance.

— GANDHIJI

"*Young India*," 23-2-22.

Vinobaji's Walking Tour in Uttar Pradesh

DAMODARDAS MUNDADA

Vinobaji and party started as usual punctually at 5 A. M. from a small village. It was a very cold day with a thick mist all round. The tract was very rough and dusty. The crossing of a river of icy cold water was exhilarating and the party enjoyed fully, as they were imbued with the spirit of the big Mission, "The Bhoodan Yajna." The party halted exactly at 7 A. M. in a wayside village for breakfast. While Vinobaji had his cup of curds, and the others their bread and jaggery, villagers who had already known that the 'Land-gift Mahatma' was passing through their village, came running for darshan. Vinobaji exhorted them to sweeten his breakfast with land-gifts. The villagers were silent and were simply wondering at the thin lean figure of the 'Mahatma.' A political sufferer residing in that village offered nine Bighas, and the rest followed one by one to offer, on the whole, 44 Bighas, not a small gift in the early morning hours.

The party could reach the place of destination Kashipur only at about 1 P. M. The members could hardly finish their bath, meals etc., when it was already time for sacrificial spinning and the public meeting. Vinobaji did not wait for anybody and went almost limping to the meeting. (He was being carried in an easy chair since the accident near Dehra Dun.) A large crowd of men and women were peacefully waiting to hear Vinobaji. The whole atmosphere was one of devotion and respect. After the half-an-hour's spinning, Vinobaji gave one of his best inspiring speeches for more than an hour. The audience was spell-bound throughout.

SPEECH AT KASHIPUR

"While the whole country is getting election-minded and there are election speeches everywhere," Vinobaji began, "it is curious that I am talking about something else." He said that he would appeal for sacrifice by the people by offer of land-gifts to the landless. He described how the society is deteriorating day by day, and the people are only bent upon 'taking', if necessary by force even, and looting others. He was asking them to do the contrary, 'to

give.' He wanted everyone, rich or poor, to contribute their mite; the rich to give more and the poor less as it was a 'yajna' for the welfare of all. He was sure of the success of the Mission and he hoped that all would take equal interest in the movement. Then Vinobaji expounded the basic philosophy underlying the movement. He said, "Whenever the society deteriorates, great men are born and the conscience of man is touched and elevated. India has the unique claim of many such great-men. Any principle or custom has not always been permanent in the society. New forces are released to change the order of society. The clock requires constant winding. Similarly, society gets reformed now and then by great avatars like Shri Ram, Krishna, Buddha and Shankaracharya. This process of cleansing the society is a permanent act uninterrupted. Whenever our body gets dirtied it is washed and kept clean. This process of getting dirtied and cleansed is quite natural. Just the same is with society. It gets corrupt and purified again and again, and great-men are born to effect the cleansing process."

Vinobaji continued, "This Bhoodan movement is a revolutionary process to raise the present society from its existing state of affairs. Each family has been confined to a very small circle—father, mother and children. All members are fed and clothed irrespective of the work they turn out. In fact, the child that is incapable of any work, is first cared for and fed. The father, as the head of the family, works for the rest and both the father and mother are prepared to sacrifice their comforts for the sake of their children. Each one's need in the family is not measured in terms of his or her earning capacity. Every one works according to his or her own capacity and enjoys. He appealed that they should extend their family circle and consider the whole village as one family. This is not new to our ancient land. Lord Krishna has declared in the Gita, 'Samya-yoga'—the ideal man's life, living and enjoying together as one family." He said, "The human love should not be narrowed down to the family. It will be dangerous to oneself and society

★ LEADERSHIP AMONG NATIONS ★

J. C. KUMARAPPA

Being observations made in talks at Tokyo to the Councillors and Representatives of the Diet (Japanese Parliament), to Socialists, Religious and Women leaders and others.

The main proposition posed was which is the leading nation in the world today, what is its qualification, and where does Japan stand.

National life is led, in the main, by three guiding principles. According to the basis chosen, the aspect of National expression differs. This qualifies, ultimately, any nation for leadership.

The principles may be classified as (1) Material, (2) Social and (3) Moral or Spiritual according to the final deciding factor. Naturally no single principle will govern alone. It is always a mixture of several considerations. One has to weigh all factors and see which will tell in the end. Generally we may evaluate the standard of achievement with reference to the altruistic motives behind the actions. The more primitive the people, the less can they think of conditions beyond their life. The more evolved the people, the better can they appreciate the effect of their own actions on others.

By a cultural process these principles are developed finally into national ways of life. Sometimes these ways of national life assume the form of maintaining a standard of material life, sometimes it is expressed in

the form of formal or organized religious or social order. Both these are controlled by the evolution of external discipline or authoritarian rule. Sometimes the evolution can only be attained by the exercise of an internal discipline practised by the individual as distinct from the group.

Under the Old Roman Empire an attempt was made, on a universal level, to mould together the authoritarian rule of the Pope with a social order based on feudal discipline and combine this with moral and religious considerations laid down in the Catholic Religion. This three-sided control failed, because of the incompatibility of the various components. There had to be an over-ruling principle.

A similar attempt was made on a national level by the British Empire, which took in only the white races on the social basis and evolved a group discipline founded on military power. This worked within certain limits, but failed ultimately, because the material standard placed it on an unstable equilibrium politically and socially.

Under the plea of moral and spiritual guidance, the Muslims tried to raise ethnical standards to unify a group into a common behaviour pattern so as to solidify them into

(Continued from previous page)

will get disintegrated and destroyed. This love beyond the selfish circle of the family is pure and reaches all—whether Christian or Muslim or Parsi. It is one continuous flow just as pure air inside and outside."

Vinobaji, finally, exhorted the people to enrich their ancient culture of love and service and enjoy the gift of God together as members of one family. The water, Sun and air are enjoyed by all equally. And the land is for the enjoyment of all. He appealed to them to contribute, as a token, whether rich or poor. As this is a movement of sacrifice, everyone was asked to contribute

his mite, and the response has been wonderful. In many cases the entire possession is offered. Only two days ago, the party was encamping at a small village, where the people were poor and there was no offering of land-gift. A blind man from a village four miles away, who has not even heard Vinobaji's speech, came in his cart at midnight and offered twelve Bighas. "It was Lord Krishna himself who came to offer the land", said Vinobaji and his eyes were full of tears. He experiences the working of God's hand in his noble mission, and is full of bliss. The people of Kashipur offered 350 acres of land at the spot.

a powerful group. This also broke down, as sufficient power could not be generated by this enforced external discipline.

Leaving aside the moral and religious basis of the Old Roman Empire, the overwhelming material considerations of the U. K. and the U. S. A. and the ethnical standards of the Muslims, Soviet Russia made an attempt to unify people under its leadership purely on a social and economic basis. They started on the proletariat level. So their starting point was not basic enough, and the omission of moral and spiritual values undermined their strength.

The Americans reduced the ethnical factor and, to a large extent, lowered the moral basis, giving a fairly free play to the material aspect of life. They have succeeded on the material side, but have miserably failed to control their lives above the animal standard. The moment their material life was seen to be in danger, they let loose the Atom Bomb, thus giving priority to material considerations over human or moral values.

The Japanese had accepted the American materialistic life as their goal and threw overboard their cultural and emotional life and expression. As this was not a natural expression of their age-old culture, they were left in the lurch at a time of stress. No nation can provide leadership by borrowing its leadership from others. Japan had nothing original to contribute in its present set up of national life. She had taken on a foreign cultural yoke voluntarily. What the Western materialistic nations had done she can set up as her goal. She can, under such a role, only play a second or third fiddle and at the moment her role is only that of a slave. Unless she wriggles out of this position, it would be futile for her ever to expect a leading part among nations. She can be a "hewer of wood and drawer of water." Each nation must contribute its quota in its own way and not be content with mere imitation.

China has struck out a new line for herself. While she has benefitted by the experience of others, she is solving her problem in her own way. She has drawn on Soviet experience but has not slavishly imitated her. Leaving the proletariat she had gone to the bed-rock of the nation and has started organizing her peasants. Leaving academic theories of private ownership and profits and equality of incomes, she is nationally organizing her productive units

in the best suited way. But, unfortunately, even she is in danger of throwing overboard the ancient culture she had depended upon all these ages to steady her. Permanent moral values are yielding place to expediences. This is a danger that, we all hope, China will soon awake to and rectify. I, for one, shall look to China for leadership, if only she would bring her moral and spiritual side into alignment with her other planks and even grant it a leading role.

Thus we notice that the Old Roman Empire and Britain tried to combine all values and get the best of both worlds and came short of both. The Muslims and the Soviet attempted to place the social order first with little or no success. The U. S. A., with their Japanese admirers close on their heels, hoped to attain their goal by jettisoning moral and other higher values and we know with what dire results. China has started at the right end by emphasising human values but it looks dangerously as though moral and spiritual considerations may not be given the priority they deserve. If that be the case, China too may go the way of all the others.

For the discipline that is essential to material life, the Old Roman Empire, the British, the U. S. A. and the Japanese, all the four groups, looked to military discipline enforced from without by external authority. In Soviet Russia, among the Muslims and in China, they have sought to develop the needed moral in an ideology. This does not appear strong enough to hold together a heterogeneous group composed of units of vast sections of the human race.

No nation has yet laid down the leading consideration of moral values as its ultimate criterion. In India, Mahatma Gandhi taught us to evaluate everything, not from a material point of view, nor from social well-being, but from the effect it has on eternal truth and non-violent reaction it has on our fellow-beings. When such principles get ingrained into our everyday life, and we evolve a culture that will control our actions from within, then alone we shall be qualified to give leadership in this world that is organized today for self-destruction. To do this, each nation should organize itself on a self-sufficiency basis in its primary needs for food, clothing, and other inevitables and decentralize its activities to this end and control itself by a discipline, generated from within, through a well regulated life, calculated to fit into a social order with likely

"Make Me Thy Servant, My Lord"

SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

The Charkha Sangh passed an important resolution on 5th Sep. 1951, appealing to the workers to work as wage-earning labourers for at least 24 hours in a month. This was published in the *Khadi World* of Oct. '51. The social and economic background of the resolution was explained by Shri. Dharendra Mazumdar in his speech which was published in the *Khadi World* of Nov. '51. The following article, translated from Hindi, discusses the moral and spiritual implications of the resolution aiming at a new Social Order.

MIRABAI'S PRAYER

This is the refrain of a well-known song of Mirabai. She asks Krishna, her Beloved, to employ her as a *chaakar*, that is a menial domestic servant doing every kind of physical labour. The song goes on to recount the numerous jobs with which she would like to occupy herself. The song has significance for the constructive workers, and it came to me with the force of a revelation as I reflected over a recent resolution of the Charkha Sangh which calls upon its workers to give twenty-four hours every month to the performance of wage-labour, in order to achieve identity with the labouring class. The constructive workers too have got to do fruitful service to their Lord, the Community, which is His visible form, with the same ardour and in the same spirit as Mirabai.

The resolution consists of two parts. The first sets forth the ideological background of constructive work, while the second lays down the programme in order to implement the ideology. The resolution is addressed to the Charkha Sangh workers, but is worthy of serious consideration and adoption by all constructive workers.

The resolution insists on two points: performance of twenty-four hours of manual labour in a month, and secondly the obligation to do it on a wage-basis in the manner of a day labourer.

NATURE AND BASIS OF MANUAL LABOUR

It may be presumed that an able-bodied man can put in six to eight hours of daily

labour. This means that the twenty-four hours of labour which the resolution enjoins can be gone through ordinarily in four days. But there need be no rigidity about it. Since the workers of the intellectual class are not used to hard physical labour they may not be able to go beyond four hours in a day. They may, then, require more days to accomplish their allotted amount of work. It is a matter of convenience and should be adjusted between the worker and his employer. There should be no difficulty regarding the availability of work, because there is no dearth of it. There is a great demand for labour in the villages for the various agricultural operations which spring up seasonally. Similarly, in the cities, in the construction of houses, the laying out of roads, and some type of factory labour, there is enough scope for employment for those who seek it. Discrimination would have to be used in the choice of work, e. g. work in villages might be preferable to work in cities, while work in factories which are opposed to the Sarvodaya order of things may have to be avoided. But we need not go into that aspect of the question at present. Then, it may not be possible for these workers to do the work of skilled artisans. That too should present no difficulty; for in all these operations, there is always a residue which involves simple physical labour, and which therefore can be done by all.

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conflicting interests. There can be no leadership without self discipline generated from a philosophy and way of life that takes into the equation all factors that have a bearing. This is only possible when we reach down to basic principles of life and living. May we

hope that the warring nations of the world will realize this and not seek their solution in competitively more destructive weapons? What shall it profit a nation if it gains the whole world and loses its own soul? Who shall be the leader but the one who serves?

"Gram Udyog Patrika", Jan. 1952.

The next point is that the labour must be on a wage-basis, and after the manner of a day labourer, it has to be rendered to an outside employer. Workers in constructive institutions are used to physical labour, as they take part in *safai* work at home or in the neighbourhood and in the agricultural work which a good few of the institutions now carry on. They also participate quite prominently in public service activities like the village *safai*, improvement of village roads, sinking of manure pits etc. This is welcome, so far as it goes. However the importance of the programme held out by this resolution goes further than this.

THE GULF BETWEEN INTELLECTUAL AND MANUAL WORKER

Of the various class differences with which our society is afflicted, the one between the manual and the intellectual is the most deep-rooted. The intellectual worker is regarded as superior to manual workers. There is something in our cultural traditions which has stamped a stigma on manual labour. This is peculiar to our country, for nowhere else do they look down on it as disparagingly as we do. Whatever the reasons, the evil is there. Even the poor who earn their living by manual work do it only under compulsion and would fain give it up if there was an opportunity. Of course, this is due to the general social attitude towards labour and the marked difference between the income of the intellectual worker and that of the manual worker. It is really amazing that those who produce all the wealth and wherewithal of life are driven to wallow in hunger and misery, while the indolent rich enjoy themselves on the fruits of their labour and usurp every kind of social honour and prestige. Certainly, this state of affairs is most reprehensible and requires to be ended at the earliest moment. There is a crying need for a revolution in our social theory and practice which will rehabilitate manual work in its due position of honour, which should be higher than that of intellectual work. One of the most effective ways for this consummation, from the point of view of *ahimsa*, would be for the intellectual workers to adopt the life of the manual worker, in however small a measure.

REVOLUTIONIZE THE PRESENT VALUES

It will surely revolutionize the prevailing social attitude and behaviour. It will eradicate the prevailing reluctance to earn one's living with the sweat of one's brow. High prices and scarcity of goods have produced a most devastating effect on the life of the middle class people, which has been

put completely out of gear. The small traders are also suffering a similar predicament on account of the controls. Many of them are virtually out of employment. On the other side, for many jobs entailing manual labour there are not enough workers forthcoming. And yet the former are precluded from taking to this type of work because of the social stigma attached to it. Take the case of our students. Even those boys who come from the labouring class abandon their family occupation and hanker after getting into some intellectual profession. There are a number of students who are poor and seek scholarships and other forms of help. But even they are not willing to take to manual work in their vacations, when they can easily do it, and add to their insufficient resources. In America and some other countries, the students make up for a part of their expenses by working in the fields and factories, and it is regarded as quite honourable for them to do so. Why could it not be so in our country? We have to bridge the gulf between the intellectual and manual work and that, both in regard to prestige and the money income. This resolution is well calculated to do away with the social and monetary disparities between these two types of work.

INCENTIVE TO EFFICIENCY

It will also provide an incentive to manual workers to work more efficiently. Today, they work perfunctorily, and even when their wages are substantially increased, there is no appreciable increase in their output of work. How can there be any increase in production, no matter how loud the clamour we make for it, so long as these conditions last? Here is the way out. Let the wise among the intellectuals work like manual workers, and the outlook of the latter would change and they will not only learn to work willingly and honestly but also proudly.

The resolution says that such work should be on a wage-basis. The intention is that the workers should work fully and to the satisfaction of the employer. It will also introduce a sense of reality into the work, and make for the banishment of the idea that there is anything humiliating about earning one's living in this way.

Let us hope that the constructive workers everywhere will give whole-hearted co-operation in this most well meaning programme and realize in whatever degree they can, the revolution which it envisages to the lasting good of our society. ★ ★ ★

"Harijan", 24th Nov. 1951.

★ Worship of Shrama Devata ★

An Antidote to Communism and Capitalism

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE

The following is the concluding part of Vinobaji's introduction to Shri. K. G. Mashruwala's recent book '*Gandhi and Marx*' published by Navajivan Publishing House. Earlier portions were published in the previous issues of the *Khadi World*. This book is available at Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, (A. I. S. A.) — price Rs. 1—8—0.

Be that as it may. The destitute condition of the illiterate masses of India continues to be the same as before even after the attainment of independence. They desire to be extricated out of it by any means whatever. They have neither the capacity nor the leisure to understand the various ideologies and isms. Any god that will respond to their supplication will be accepted by them. Hence it will not do to ignore the warning which Kishorlalbhai has sounded towards the end of his book. Neither denouncement of Communism, nor a convincing or smashing reply to it, nor its suppression by force will avail us here. Just as in the monsoon, waters of all rivers and streams flow towards the ocean, so in Swaraj the services of all workers should flow towards the villages and the distress-stricken people.

Fortunately, the heart of the masses is sound even in their affliction. Village-people still believe that if they are ever to be saved, it will be by the Gandhian way alone. The present Government is constituted of Gandhiji's colleagues. Congress, the greatest political organization of the country, is also an institution reared by Gandhiji. The Sarvodaya constructive workers are but the avowed followers of the Gandhian philosophy. The Socialists of India too are but Gandhiji's sons. They have declared their ideal to establish *Satyagrahi* Socialism in India. If all these various bodies or parties plunged themselves into the service of the people in a spirit of co-operation to the best of their capacities, even though in accordance with their respective ideas, where would poverty, ignorance and misery find a place to stay? But all the four have taken to four separate ways, each running down the work of the other three. The result is that a fifth one is fast marching towards the country. Who is this fifth? In the language of the *Upanishads*, it is *Mrityu* (Destruction).

One alleges, "The people are literally dying of starvation." Another replies, "No, they do not die of starvation, but of some disease." No doubt the starving person does develop some disease, before his death! The condition is like the one described by Swami Ramadas :

"There is nothing to eat,
"There is no place to go to,
"How can I have an urge to sing?
"Where shall I go to beg for my alms?"

But I neither blame any one for this situation, nor despair. I blame none, because ours is a very great country and hence equally great are her problems. No wonder, therefore, if differences of opinion are also great. And I do not despair, for, why should I get disheartened when there is a pick-axe in my hands?

In the course of a discussion at the Ashram, someone suggested that if wells were sunk at various places in the country, the production would increase and starvation would disappear, and so, Government should take steps in that direction. I said, "We are the Government. Who else is the Government, if not the people? Come, let us take that step and begin to dig a well in our field." The diggers had no previous experience. But the 'axe did its work. The diggers had no idea of the depth and place of water. But the 'axe had. It went on digging. And lo, soon there appeared water. People of the surrounding parts came to visit our well, and drank its water as they would in a place of pilgrimage.

Then a village Patel said, "When old Koti Baba (an aged worker of Paunar, nearly 80 years old) works on the well why should not we too dig a well?" And he started digging a well in his village. And the young boys of Surgaon did a remarkable thing. They said among themselves, "These are Diwali holidays. Let us go to work on

TRUSTEESHIP : The Best Maligned Gandhian Tenet

S. M. NEKSATKHAN

It seems irritatingly paradoxical that a man who proclaimed his sole concern service of the downtrodden should have had sanguinary associations with the well-to-do, who would not be so except by exploitation. One cannot serve two masters at a time. How then, Gandhiji, a friend of the exploited could have friends in the camp of exploiters? How is a person who exploits the poor expected to hold and use his gains for the benefit of the poor. The paradox, like other paradoxes, remains baffling so long as things are viewed superficially or with a set of purpose. We have to go deep and find out the basis which influenced Gandhiji's behaviour in this regard. It is the theory of trusteeship that explains his association with the rich.

As early as the 4th of February of 1916, during the opening ceremony of the Banaras Hindu University, Gandhiji while addressing the audience *inter alia*, reprimandedly referred in his speech to the earlier speakers the Rajahs and the Maharajahs, who waxed eloquent at the poverty of India. Proceeding further he bluntly observed: "I compare with the richly bedecked noblemen the millions of the poor. And I feel like saying to these noblemen: 'There is no salvation for India unless you strip yourself of the jewellery and hold it in trust for your countrymen in India.'" So, he got to the theory very early and was at it till the end of his life. Two things are quite clear here: his plain speaking to the richly bedecked noblemen and his concern for the poor. Let

us bear in mind these two things while examining his theory of trusteeship.

If we want to transform the capitalist society we have to understand its wrong ways so that we may find the right ways to get out of it. In the atmosphere prevailing today even a dispassionate attempt to understand anything which has any connection with what is dubbed as capitalism would be suspect. I am sure, I run the risk of being dubbed an agent of capitalism, vainly trying to oxygenate it on its death-bed. I do not propose to go into any systematic treatment of the subject. I will content myself by placing here some random thoughts on the subject with a hope that they may set some more thought on it in motion.

It is not just to judge a thing torn from its context. Any particular tenet of Gandhiji must be examined in its relation to his whole philosophy. He had a definite view of the future society he was trying to wring in. It would not be scientific to tear out an item from that frame-work and to view it in the background of the frame-work of present day society. It would help nobody to take as specimens the capitalists of an acquisitive society to judge the 'capitalists' of a non-violent society. So, we must know precisely the forms and functions of the economic institutions in particular and social, political and other institutions in general operating in a non-violent society.

Yes, it is difficult to divest ourselves of the idea of a rich man at all behaving himself, particularly in these days, in the

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Babaji's well." And without informing us in advance, about a dozen young men came up to us and joined us in the work. They gave us four hours' hard labour and returned without making any ado. When God raises such divine inspiration in the hearts of the people, why should there be any room for despair? Ramadas has asked "Where shall I go to beg for my alms?" Shall we go to America? No. Will the people of Independent India stretch out their palms for alms? Come friends, let us worship

Shrama Devata (the Goddess of Work) and ask her to give us our food. She has always said, "Ask and you will get, seek and you will find."

At least I, for one, see the salvation of India through only this double-edged weapon, namely, freedom from the lure of money and performance of body-labour. In it I see the acme of Gandhiji's philosophy, a synthesis with Communism and an antidote to both Communism and Capitalism



interest of society. A parallel can be found from religion. Religion is good but in the name of religion so many bad things are done, so much so that many refuse to do anything with religion itself. So, when monied men misbehave, a strong tendency naturally arises to do away with them. But will that solve the problem?

Gandhiji's ideas on the way in which the economic institutions should function in a non-violent society are clear and emphatic. Some of them may be noted here. Basically the economic aspect is to be subordinated to the ethical. The State will be responsible to provide work to all its citizens so that they may earn rightly and fairly the required necessities to carry on the human existence. It is implied in such a scheme of things that every man is guaranteed his needs. Another implication is that the forces and factors going against such a set up will meet with stiff resistance in case they raise their ugly heads. The 'haves' if they will be there will not have as free reins as they have at present and the 'have-nots' will not be so helpless and powerless as they are now. Further, in a non-violent society everyman, at least majority of them, will themselves be producing the primary necessities of life. They would not be slaving for others. Cottage-industries are part and parcel of such an arrangement. Village industries would come in right behind them. So, production in many fields and spheres would be for self-sufficiency and strictly for use and not for profit either for the producer himself or his employer. The State and the local bodies would be owning all the key and big industries, national and social services and the like. In the sphere of distribution too, Co-operative societies would be pre-ponderating. Trade and commerce will also have to conform to this set up. Production, distribution and consumption would not be the geese that will lay the golden eggs. So, all the money the capitalists are getting today by lots and pots would be going to the State or the Co-operative societies.

Today a man is a millionaire because he owns big and key industries, monopolises through trusts, cartels and combines, produces and distributes things concerning primary necessities of life, is a financing or a commission agent, has his own banks and insurance companies and other such means to pile up crores. All these wells of the acquisitive society would have dried up when an altruistic society replaces it. So, even if there be 'capitalists' in a non-violent society

they would never be millionaires. Of course, even after the State takes up certain industries, majority of people produce for themselves their necessities of life, Co-operative societies would be producing and distributing a number of articles and so on, there will still remain certain fields for economic enterprises. But these will never enable anyone to amass fabulous sums.

As said above, there will be the supremacy of the moral aspect in a non-violent society. One of the eleven vows included in the ashram-prayers is 'Non-possession.' It means that none should possess or keep in store anything more than what is absolutely necessary. If at all one should have one must possess it and not own it so to say. The surplus should be used in the interest of the society. In a society with such ideas and ideals the prestige and power of the monied men would not be the same as it is in a world mad with materialism. The public opinion would be always expecting the rich to help the poor. In a society where not the rich but the public servants, on the strength of their services, would be directing the affairs of men, the final or effective say will not rest with the rich.

But why should the rich be allowed to amass wealth and then be expected to hold it in trust? That would be a natural query and legitimate too. In a society where it is sin for the individual to do something, for the State also to do the same thing will be sinful if that State really represents the people. If it is violence for the individual to possess, it is so in case of the State too. In that case, one has to choose between two violences. Moreover, the state of a non-violent society has to have a government that governs the least. And after all if the State appropriates the surplus wealth it has to hold it in trust also. If the individual members of a society cannot be trusted to be trustees, the State, their representative organisation, is also not expected to be a good trustee. Let us see Gandhiji's own answer to this question. Replying to a question, he had once observed, ".....It is my firm conviction that if the State suppressed capitalism by violence, it will be caught in the coils of violence itself and fail to develop non-violence at any time. The State represents violence in a concentrated and organised form. The individual has a soul, but the State is a soulless machine. It can never be weaned from the violence to which it owes its very existence. Hence I prefer the doctrine of trusteeship."

A MESSAGE TO THE MIDDLE-CLASS

DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR, President, All India Spinners' Association

Social exploitation is the root cause of the grave discontent in the world. Its characteristic form is class-inequality. Because of the division of society into masters and labourers, the master-class is ceaselessly exploiting the poor. This exploitation is not new. It is difficult to ascertain when the system of exploitation of the poor-man's labour by the 'master' class came into being. But today the system has assumed such proportions that this fire of inequality threatens to reduce the whole society to ashes.

Humanity all the world over is clamouring to extricate itself from the disaster. That is why there is the demand for a classless society in every country of the world. The whole student-world also believes in it. But you must also ponder over an aspect of the problem which the world, including the students, has hitherto ignored. They accept the proposition that either the rich should cease becoming a burden upon the poor or the poor should throw them off their backs. Hence they raise the slogan "Down with capitalists." But they should know the real cause of social inequality.

The method of exploitation is so planned that a very large body of toilers is exploited

by a *Babu* class of petty exploiters of middle-class men in the shape of managers or administrators under various names such as clerks, contractors, brokers, agents, foremen etc. These in their turn are lorded over and exploited by a very small class of rich owners. Now, while the middle-class struggles to relieve itself of the rich man's burden, it does not wish to get itself down from the back of the poor. But this plan will not work. There can be only one law in the world, namely either riding over another's back or not riding at all. There is no half-way between. If the *Babu* class desires to earn its own living by exploiting the labouring class, the rich or the capitalists in turn will exploit it. And if it wants that the rich should get down from its back, it should also cease to exploit the poor, and take to personal labour.

Most of you, students, belong to the *Babu* class. If you wish to bring about the new social order based on equality and justice you will have to change your class and become labourers yourselves.

I hope you will decide your course in the light of this truth. ★ ★ ★

A message sent to the 5th Session of the All Gujarat Students' Congress, Valod in Gujarat.

(*"Harijan," 15th Dec. 1951*)

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Then should the governance of man be left to the whims and caprices of individuals? Such an implication is likely to be deduced. But such is not the case. We have already seen the circumscribing limits both to the possibilities of amassing enormous wealth and to the power of individuals arising out of their possessing money. Whatever certain members of the community do get is due not to any positive helplessness of the society but due to the incidence of their talents in a wide world and complicated social structure. And in the last resort if a trustee does not behave he can be dealt with and has to be dealt with. The people have a remedy whether against individuals or the State. Normally a man has to be trusted. But if he forfeits that trust by his own misdeeds he

would be shown his proper place. So, there is a very effective remedy if the trusted do not act as they ought to act. The remedy is "non-violent, non-co-operation as the right and infallible means." It is more effective than ever-throwing a centralised and power-concentrated State.

Thus the doctrine of trusteeship is a part and parcel of the non-violent ends and non-violent means of the scheme of things. It helps to retain the sovereignty of the people effectively to themselves. It is 'no makeshift, certainly no camouflage.' According to its own author: "It has the sanction of philosophy and religion behind it. No other theory is compatible with non-violence." As such it deserves to be studied carefully by all sincere students of human well-being.

'Efficiency' in Cottage Industries

— SURESH RAMABHAI

Pointing to the development of cottage industries as the 'only way to provide useful employment on a large scale', the 'Economic Programme' resolution of the Delhi Congress reads:

"It is necessary that such cottage industries should be worked on the **highest technical levels of efficiency*. By this method unused human capacity will be mobilised and harnessed for constructive activity."

Also, in the last autumn session of the Parliament, during question hour our Prime Minister once declared:

"The Government is anxious to promote cottage industries as early as possible, but, at the same time, they want to make them **technically efficient*. Otherwise, in the long run, the industries will not succeed. *The Government has to find out ways and means to make these industries technically efficient so that they may, more or less, stand on their own legs.*"

From the foregoing one is inclined to conclude that both Congress and Government seriously feel the necessity of, as an esteemed correspondent puts it, "drafting into the sphere of cottage industry scientific knowledge and modern power tools" to make it run with efficiency and speed. This conclusion is confirmed on a reference to the Draft Outline of the First Five Year Plan, which states:

"Research in respect of cottage industries has, however, to be organised along with research into small-scale industries, to which, reference is made later, for, as cottage industries develop more efficient methods of production and as power becomes available, the distinction between them and small-scale industries tends to disappear." (p. 118)

It requires no prophetic vision to state that such hankering after 'efficiency' in cottage industries, as manifest from the above, is nothing short of an attempt to kill them outright. Nor need our Prime Minister be told that in spite of the highest technical wisdom and efficiency, India's so-called big Industry and business could not stand on their own legs, and that something else, which I need not go into, was and is required to enable them to do so. Similarly, in case of cottage industries no amount of technical efficiency will guarantee their sound position. Again, their present crudity or want of 'technical efficiency' alone is not responsible

for their deplorable state. What really counts is the form and shape of the industrial-cum-social pattern that the Government seeks to evolve.

As the Planning Commission makes no secret of its intentions, developing cottage industries to the level and magnitude of small-scale industries so that the distinction between the two may 'disappear', is virtually mechanising them to the utmost. And if this process is further 'scientifically' continued, it would result in lifting small-scale industries to the level and magnitude of or merging into, big basic industries. This is really directing the country along the channels of centralisation, little matter whether it is controlled privately or by the State. And centralisation smashes the very foundations of cottage industries which thrive in and through decentralisation.

'Technical efficiency' is welcome only if it means a discovery of 'simple tools and instruments and such machinery as saves individual labour and lightens the burden of the millions of cottages.' Otherwise, certainly not. As Gandhiji says:

"Machinery must not be allowed to displace necessary human labour. An improved plough is a good thing. But if by some chances, one man could plough up by some mechanical invention of his the whole of the land of India, and control all the agricultural produce and if the millions had no other occupation, they would starve, and being idle, they would become dunces, as many have already become. There is hourly danger of man more being reduced to that unenviable state."

He continues:

"I would welcome every improvement in the cottage machine, but I know that it is criminal to displace hand-labour by the introduction of power-driven spindles unless one is at the same time ready to give millions of farmers some other occupation in their homes."

Hence any scheme for 'technical efficiency' in cottage industries should be launched with the provision of decentralisation at its back. In other words, cottage industries must be developed in the villages, by the villagers, and for the villagers, so that they may achieve, as Vinobaji calls it, *Kanchan-Mukti* or freedom from the lure of money. Thus alone can be established a true democracy in our country. ★ ★ ★



I HAVE SEEN INDIA AQUIVERING



RALPH RICHARD KEITHAHN, Gandhi Gram

I have seen India quivering with life these twenty-five years :
I have seen the seed of new life burst thro' the sleeping earth !
Amidst the dirt and filth I have seen Great Souls.
In these days of freedom I see Life and Life Strong.

The "educated" are murmuring and complaining.
They are unworthy of the great trust placed in them
But where a Rama-Krishna, a Vivekananda, a Gandhiji
Has dared to live with and work for the poor,
I have seen unfaltering courage, living faith and pioneering Life !

You ask me to speak of facts and not of fancies !
I have seen the Harijan, the Child of the Eternal,
Raise his head and look me in the eye !
I have seen him enter the Temples with shoulders ahigh !
I have seen the laborer catch a new vision and hope.
I see men toiling for a better world.
I have seen the villager thrill with the call of Freedom.
I have seen him transformed from fear to courage
As his own flag rose over new Gandhi Grams.
I have seen him take on new confidence
As he saw the Father of the Nation win freedom
From the greatest of Empires with the Power of the Soul.

But I have seen something even more concrete.
I have seen villages becoming clean even in the midst of weakness.
I have seen Cells of Hope spring up throughout India.
I have seen weak men build schools and health centers
That their children might have something better.
I have seen roads creep through the fields to remote villages.
I have seen high schools spring up in the wastes.
I have seen higher centers of learning come to exploited villages.
I have seen drink shops cast from the landscape.
I see parasitic Rajahs and Zemindars,
Nursed by the "burdened" white man,
Flee before man who would have his freedom!
I have seen all this—and much of this within three years—
A very brief time in the history of a nation as old as India!

Then why this frustration ? Why this greed ?
Why this lurking fear of tomorrow ?
Why this clinging to the things of the world ?
Has not India grasped a great and potential future ?
Have we not a wealth of man and tradition
With which to build for the New Day ?
Even more have we not a great Gift to give to Humanity if we are but awake !

A world of greed ! A world of war ! A world of unfaithfulness !
It hungers for India's gift—the gift of eternal-living ;
The gift of faithful-living; the gift of selfless-living ;
The gift of courageous-living for the Truth—
Courageous struggle against all evil ;
The gift of wholesome-living.

What will Mother India do ? May she be true to the past thirty years—
True to the selfless, courageous living of those who gave her freedom;
True to those who would brook no evil ;
True to her very best of many, many centuries.
May her sons and her daughters hear the persistent call of India's pioneers—
The call of the shepherdless throughout the world
And Continue to pioneer with Truth in the slums and villages of need
In days of darkness and untruth ! ★ ★ ★

Progress of Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yajna

The following extracts taken from the "*Hindustan Times*" Delhi, — dated the 15th, 19th and 21st January '52 — describe the marvellous progress of Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yajna and the substance of his speeches at the various places on the Bhoodan Yajna movement and other topical subjects of importance.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave's *Bhoodan Yajna* continues to make spectacular progress and he has so far got 53,000 acres of land. In U. P. alone it is nearing 30,000 acres. In Telangana he got 15,000 acres, in Madhya Pradesh 7,000 acres, Madhyabharat and Rajasthan 1,000 acres, Vindhya Pradesh 1,000 acres. In Delhi it was about 1,200 acres.

He has not yet been able to tour the whole of Madhyabharat, Rajasthan and Vindhya Pradesh.

In U. P. the response from Pilibhit district has been phenomenal. Madhotanda in Puranpur tehsil has made a record contribution. All the villages that lay on the route gave Acharya Vinoba land. In Puranpur tehsil alone land of 3,000 acres was given. The donors numbered 112 in all and the acreage donated was in pieces from one acre to 600 acres. The total land donated to Acharya Vinoba in Pilibhit was 12,000 acres,

Gifts also continue to pour daily to Vinobaji from different parts of the country. Shrimati Asharfi Devi of Moradabad has given extensively cultivated land in Maggalwallah village in Moradabad tehsil whose annual land revenue exceeds Rs. 130.

A widow of Nainital District kept a night-long vigil outside the hut of Vinoba Bhave and went away after giving all her land and a house — in all about 1½ acres — which was all her earthly possession.

Begum Sherwani, wife of the former Agriculture Minister to the U. P. Government, donated extensive tracts of land to Vinobaji on Thursday.

WHY NOT USE A CAR ?

Asked by a Socialist friend as to why he could not use a car, Vinoba Bhave said: "When I am going round Hindustan as a representative of *Daridranarayana*, the landless poor, how can I use an automobile, a capitalistic conveyance? I reach even

the interior villages by foot, where these conveyances cannot. And then what a variety of roads I come across, hard and metalled, marshy and sandy, rough and dusty tracks and tilting stony pathways. I enjoy them all."

At Haldwani people rang temple bells to signify the auspicious arrival of Vinoba Bhave and gave him a welcome full of devotion and respect.

THE WHOLE COUNTRY IS ONE FARM

Addressing a meeting, Vinoba Bhave said: "Why should any individual own 12,000 and 15,000 acres when there are numerous people without any land? The workers in the farms sweat and labour, they see with their own eyes the rich produce, but they have no right to any share in it. Now after independence the whole country is one big farm and everyone has a right to work and enjoy the produce. Why divide it in small parts of 12,000 and 10,000 ?

Acharya Vinoba Bhave's appeal had great effect in Nainital and Pilibhit districts.

A NEW PAGE IN HISTORY

"Bhoo-dan-Yajna is a historic movement and by giving land to the landless poor, the people of India are writing a new page in the history of the world," said Acharya Vinoba Bhave in his prayer meeting at Ghunghohai village a few days ago.

Acharya Vinoba said there were sceptics who expressed doubts about the success of the movement, as such a thing had never happened in history. But it was like scientific discoveries, such as the aeroplane, which could not be imagined a century ago but has today captured the imagination of the people. The *bhoo-dan* movement was working on the heart and soul of men, spreading the message of love and brotherhood.

A SAINT AND REVOLUTIONARY

Acharya Vinoba is hailed by the people as a saint and a revolutionary. All along the route of his walking tour, villagers gather for his *darshan* and offer him flowers

and land-gifts. People call him *deen-bandhoo* and *krishak-bandhu*. "God alone is *deen-bandhu*," said Acharya Vinoba at one of his meetings. "I pray to Him for the deliverance of the poor from poverty and ignorance. I am only a tool in His hands. I serve Him as He orders me."

While Acharya Vinoba and his party were proceeding to Puranpur, a tehsil town in Pilibhit district, the villagers of Kalayanpur and Raghunathpur, poor kisans, 50 of them together offered 47 acres, in the yajna, at Puranpur, three Muslim Zamindars offered 7,300 acres. On the whole 12,000 acres were offered to Acharya Vinoba at Puranpur.

THE LAND-THIRST AMONG LANDLESS

Referring to the *Bhoomidan Yajna* Acharya Vinoba said the Zamindari Abolition Act and its implementation was not going to help his mission much.

What he was doing was something which had not been tried before in history. He was preaching his *mantras* and trying to create an atmosphere which would enable him to get what he wanted and quench the land-thirst among the landless people.

Acharya Vinoba was given a warm reception on arrival here on Tuesday. He first visited the place where a statue of Mahatma Gandhi has been erected and after paying his respects to Gandhiji, Acharya Vinoba spoke about his *Bhoomidan* mission.

Later, he addressed teachers of District Board schools and received several individuals including students and research workers of the Indian Veterinary Institute, Izatnagar, prominent lawyers and traders. He held his daily charkha yajna at the foot of Gandhiji's statue and received a welcome address presented by the Bareilly Municipal Board.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who was injured on his right knee when a cyclist dashed against him in Muzaffarnagar district, now does his tour partly in a bullock-cart and partly on foot.

The knee which is being massaged—the only treatment to which he has agreed—is being done by a Vaid of the party. Even when he talked to a roomful of people he was having his knee fomented by a hot water bottle.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave is now learning Chinese.

AMERICAN AND RUSSIAN METHODS

Acharya Vinoba Bhave who has toured Dehra Dun district on foot during the last few days, said at a crowded meeting here:

"The world is suffering due to the rivalries of the two big Powers, the U. S. A. and Russia. And India is the only country which can show the way of sanity and peace.

"America is distributing money to small countries to enable them to progress but she is not doing so selflessly. She is the strongest country in the world and is also less open to attack from the geographical point of view, yet she is afraid of attack, obviously from Russia. She tries to keep other smaller countries within the orbit of her financial influence, so that if and when there is war, she can avail of their military and other help. Russia, on the other hand, is active on seizing a country, killing its rich people, distributing their land and other wealth to the poor.

"This method of distribution of land has a tradition of its own and is favourable to the circumstances in India. I have started asking the people to consider me as a member of their own family which was accepted in many cases.

"India is faced with two tremendous problems of (a) social disunity and (b) economic inequality. If she could solve these two problems successfully India will be the strongest country in the world. Freedom has brought great opportunities of work and service. *Bhoomidhan Yajna* is the most important step in removing these handicaps.

SANCTITY OF HILL RESORTS

Unlike olden days when people used to visit hill resorts for meditation pleasure-seekers crowd them nowadays. They come for a short period, live in luxury and do not give any thought to the poor people around them. The old *punya*-seekers also came to the hills, either to have a *darshan* of the deity or *Daridranarayana* or for a dip in the holy waters, and as an act of charity make small gifts of money to the poor people. This is of no help. If they really feel for the poor, they should come and stay and serve the people. The hill people should not look to the political leaders for guidance. They should work energetically to improve their lot."

PRESENT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

Referring to the students Vinobaji disagreed with the plea that the student community was indisciplined. He considered that the present system of education and curriculum could never improve our future generation and create feelings of sympathy and love for each other.

A MOVING SCENE

A moving scene was witnessed when Vinobaji on entering the district narrated the case of an aged woman who had neither seen him nor heard of him, gave away all her lands, sixty-one acres and a house in which she lived. In a letter she said, "*You are distributing lands to the landless and you want you should receive your rightful share of a son. I have no child and therefore I accept you as my only son and herewith sign this deed of gift in your favour.*"

Explaining the implications of this letter, Vinobaji said, that he had not the slightest doubt that "the work he had undertaken was inspired by God and was beyond his power. It was God's will that was working."

"The society should be constantly flowing like a river so that all can derive benefit from it. For long years, Indian society has become static and there is a great need to reform the society and bridge the gap between the rich and the poor. *Bhoomidhan Yajna* is a great way of revitalising the society to make it move. To feel and sacrifice for the poor is true *dharma*." Sacrifice has no rule or code. People should do it out of inspiration straightway. He is trying to create a *Bhoomidhan andolan* but *andolan* (movement) follows *vichar* (ideas). "Without true *vichar*, an *andolan* cannot be effective. I am not worried about the quantity of land I receive. What I want is that the people should realise the significance of *Bhoomidhan Yajna* and it is imperative that people should give away land."

Here Vinobaji received over 300 acres of land. Acharya Vinoba Bhave was accorded a warm welcome at Tamli and Chonapur villages on December 7. About 440 Bighas of land was given by the villagers at both the places. A Harijan gave his entire land.

★ ★ ★

ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY IN SWARAJ—DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR

Britishers had left India. The country attained political freedom. But the Swaraj of the masses has not come. The mere exit of the foreign power and the establishment of Home-Rule does not bring Swaraj. As long as real democracy is not established one cannot say that the Swaraj has come. In the present-day world either an individual or a party rules the various countries. Therefore, to bring real Swaraj we will have to democratize the whole social fabric i. e. the actual and direct transfer of all power and administration to the masses. And this is possible only through the democratization of the economic life of the society.

Economic life involves production from land and industries. The concentration of land and industries in the hands of a few individuals or groups has given birth to totalitarianism. The picture of democracy envisaged by Gandhiji can be brought about only by demolishing this concentration of land and industry and distributing them in every village and to every home.

SOCIALIZATION OF LAND AND INDUSTRY

Gandhiji has shown the way of socializing industry through *Charkha* and village

industries (*gramodyog*). Hence, in order to achieve this goal, we are endeavouring to boycott large-scale centralized industries and emphasizing the creation of self-reliant economy through village industries. Gandhiji in his lifetime could not give any definite plan for the democratization of land. He died before doing so. Fortunately, Vinoba, his chief disciple, has undertaken his task. He has, through his Land-Gift-Mission, shown a definite way to bring about decentralization or socialization of land.

NON-VIOLENT REVOLUTION

In fact, the land problem is universal. The attention of the whole world is focussed on its satisfactory solution. But in resolving it, people, by adopting violent means, are inviting more violence in its wake. In such an atmosphere if Vinoba succeeds in his non-violent revolution, it would mean a definite way to achieve world peace.

On India today rests the responsibility of giving a definite lead to the present-day world. Therefore it is the duty of every son of the country to take this message to every home and hamlet.

(*"Harijan"*, 19th Jan. 1952)

SARVODAYA YATRAS: Some Doubts cleared

DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR

In connection with my article which appeared in the *Harijan* dated the 15th December 1951 under the caption *Sarvodaya Yatras*, a correspondent from Aravti, (Dharwar Dt.) has put certain questions for clarification. I am releasing the text of my reply for the readers of the *Harijan* to keep them informed of the same.

Q. 1. Whether it is advisable to go in groups of 30 or 40 or in batches of 4 and 5? I feel we should go in 30 or 40's.

A. I feel it is not advisable to go in groups of 30 or 40. This will be too much for the village reception committee.

Q. 2. Whether ladies are to accompany these groups?

A. Both men and women can form a batch. But only those should be selected who have some capacity to discuss with the village people about the ideology and programme of Sarvodaya.

Q. 3. Whether all the persons are to be lodged in one place or to be distributed in various houses?

A. The persons should be distributed to several houses where they will stay as guests. It is better if only one person stays at one house. This is necessary as off-time chatting with the neighbours of the host is not less important than speeches at the gathering. When 4 or 5 persons will stay at different houses those places will become different centres where people will gather and talk with the guests.

Q. 4. Whether we should carry our meals with us or we should depend upon the villages for meals etc.?

A. No meals should be carried. The *Yatrees* (pilgrims) should depend on villagers for this. That is why I have suggested that the halting places should be prearranged. If by chance it so happens that the villagers do not give food to them, they should go without food for a day or so.

Q. 5. Whether we should carry *charkhas* with us? If so, are we to have a conveyance with us to carry our luggage?

A. Bamboo *charkhas* or *talkies* should be carried. In the first week of February there is not much cold and the luggage will not be much to need a conveyance. It can be

carried by the party. If needed a conveyance can be taken. But this should be avoided if possible.

Q. 6. Whether it is advisable to walk in the hot sun or in the early hours of the morning?

A. The time for walking depends on the climate of the place. Generally February is not a hot season. The time-table given in the scheme should be followed if it is not very hot, because if the batches walked in the morning the important items of the morning i. e. *procession* and *safai* will almost be left out.

Q. 7. Whether it is essential to have the last day's *mela* on the banks of a river or on the banks of some big tanks or in temples etc.?

A. If in the locality there is no place where Bapu's ashes were immersed, then workers can arrange a Sarvodaya Sammelan at some suitable place and not a *mela*. The *mela* should be organized at the places of *Asthi Pravaha* (immersion of ashes) only. ★ ★

(“*Harijan*” 19th Jan. '52)

ECONOMIC EQUALITY

Mahatma Gandhi

You can certainly preach it (economic equality), if your speech is strictly non-violent and not in the manner of some who, I know, have preached forcible dispossession of landowners and capitalists. But I have shown a better way than preaching. The constructive programme takes the country a long way towards the goal. This is the most auspicious time for it. The *Charkha* and the allied industries, if fully successful, practically abolish all inequalities, both social and economic. The rising consequences of the strength which non-violence gives to the people, and their intelligent refusal to co-operate in their slavery must bring about equality.

“*Harijan*”, 25th Jan. '42

JANUARY 30TH

DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR

This year, too, the country will have observed the Gandhi anniversary on 30th January as usual. On account of the election fever that has enveloped the country, the people do not seem to have realized the importance of 30th January. Bapu lived and worked for India's independence and laid down his life while fighting the perils to the country's freedom. In the face of this fact there exists popular indifference. What is the reason for it? Is it the repetition of the story of the *Purana*? Like Shiva Bapu drank the poison that emerged from 'the churning of the ocean.' Will the great gods of the country fight among themselves in sharing the nectar of independence? Will they, in the heat of this 'sharing', forget Bapu? The gods might forget Shiva after he drank poison, but how could his *ganas* (followers) afford to forget him? Similarly even if leaders of India forget Bapu, how can his *ganas* - the millions in the country - forget him? We have to reawaken the sacred memory, not of Bapu's physical body but of his spirit that gave a revolutionary message for the solution of the problem of the age.

The present age is torn with economic centralization and capitalistic economy. We have to perform the task of destroying the capitalist economy and of establishing in its place in every home the decentralized one. They in whose hands are centralized power and wealth will not shoulder this task. But they in whose hands ultimately this power and wealth are to fall after achieving decentralization, will do it.

At present the wealth is centralized in two forms: the industrial system and the zamindari system. During his life-time Gandhiji pointed out the method of liquidating capitalist industrialization. He gave the *charkha* as the symbol of its liquidation and opened the way to decentralization. But before he could give a dynamic plan for decentralizing land among the people, he was snatched away from us. Now Vinoba has taken upon himself this task left incomplete by Bapu. He has given to the country and the world as well, the non-violent technique for the distribution of land.

By the non-violent path pointed out by Gandhiji India wrought a great political revolution and solved the political problem of the independence of the country. Will

that India now lag behind in solving her social problems through non-violence? Indeed, the spirit of India has assimilated the *mantra* of non-violence, and I have a firm conviction that it will definitely adopt it.

The *Yajna* of this great social revolution has already been initiated. Shri Vinoba, its sacrificial priest, has commenced the uttering of *mantras*. The question now is: Who should get the oblation after the offering is made on the altar?

I hope, nay, firmly believe that from this auspicious occasion workers will work with a zeal to give a momentum to this *Yajna* and and land-holders will make maximum offering in it with full faith and devotion. ★

(Adapted from "Harijan," 12th January 1952)

SARVODAYA MELA

Vote for Yarn Offering

I have proposed the programme of yarn offering of one hank by each at every place where the Sarvodaya Mela is to be celebrated on the February 12th. Whoever offers one hank of yarn will be considered as a voter for our ideology. In this way his name and address will be recorded in our office. I am placing before you by this a clear, methodical and solid programme of work. While today voters are only 18 crores, even a child of five years can become a voter according to this programme of ours. That the voter should be only a Khadi-wearer is not absolutely necessary. Even if the voter were a drunkard it is my duty to make him give up the drink. Even as different members of a family living in different villages go to meet together on special occasions, all of us, the members of the family offering yarn hanks shall meet at the Sarvodaya Mela. In the meantime our workers will be going round to meet in the villages and will join us in time at the Mela. They will go to those villages in particular, where there may be the lonely yarn donors even like Vibhishana.

I am placing this universal programme before you by which enormous energy can be generated throughout the land.

Mathura, }
2-11-'51}

VINOBA

(Free rendering from Hindi)

Pathetic Appeal of the Rice Grain

Against Torture by Milling and Polishing*

U. N. CHATTERJEE

This interesting monologue of the rice grain taken from the book 'Developing Village India,' containing 'Studies in Village Problems' issued under the authority of Indian Council of Agricultural Research and published by Orient Longmans Ltd., Madras; Revised edition—Price Rs. 10.

You may have seen me in the vast stretches of golden yellow paddy crops standing to be harvested in the monsoon regions of India. I am no stranger to the people inhabiting this land, for to most of them I bring health and nourishment and joy of living.

Yet people who owe to me their life, and much that it connotes, are cruel to me: they deprive me of my lovely skin: they disfigure me and break away my parts before they make use of me. What a sad return for the services I render to them!

I am familiar to you as dull white little grains which must be boiled before being served. But that is my form after many a torture borne in silence at the hands of men. After harvesting, the grain, which I represent, is separated from the straw. This grain is covered with a brown grey husk which should, doubtless, be removed before I can possibly be of any service. But in doing so they hand me over to owners of rice-mills where I have to undergo processes known as milling and polishing. It is during this period that I suffer most and sustain severe injuries.

With the removal of husk in these mills, I lose several layers of my skin or seed coat and also a very important part of my body, the germ or embryo, which happens to be attached to my side. Little do people realize that these parts contain much health-giving and body-building materials which they need. The portions thus removed

carry away about half the mineral matter contained in me, one-fourth of the proteins and the major portion of the vitamin content—thiamine, riboflavin and recin—all of which are essential food constituents and are required for the proper physical growth and maintenance of health. What is left behind is only the core of the grain consisting mainly of starchy material covered over by a thin remaining portion of the innermost of the skin-layers—the aleuron layer. The starch serves to provide energy but the aleuron layer being very rich in proteins and vitamin B undoubtedly possesses health-giving and waste-repairing properties.

* * *

But no, 'sufferance is the badge of my tribe.' Before I am served out I must be cooked in boiling water. Much soluble material inside the grain, including vitamin B, passes out into the water in which I am cooked; this water is invariably thrown away, thereby further depriving me of much of the remaining nutritive materials. So when I am finally placed on the table I am a poor and miserable specimen of my initial self, lacking in quality and food value. No wonder that people have run me down as an article of food. But they have judged me wrongly.

I entreat the people, for whose service I am meant, to treat me gently, kindly and with consideration. I appeal to them not to injure me as they are prone to, for in so doing they are causing harm to themselves; they do not realize what they are losing.

MASS - PRODUCTION

[I envisage] mass - production, certainly, but not based on force. After all, the message of the spinning - wheel is that. It is mass - production but mass - production in people's own homes. If you multiply individual production to millions of times, would it not give you mass - production on a tremendous scale?

— GANDHIJI

★ THE CROSS-WORD EXPLOITATION ★

N. S. SIVASUBRAMANIAM M. A.,

The world gets more confounded by the common-sense puzzles and the numerous varieties of cross-word competitions. This is a new but an obnoxious form of gambling, bleeding white the already exploited and the needy. They look innocent intellectual recreational games but are in fact lotteries attracting all and sundry. A few weeklies started these to expand their circulation, but now this competition business is an independent and thriving one on its own account. Small weekly or monthly payments in expectation of huge prizes get hordes of competitors. Literates and illiterates, men and women, labourers and clerks and even students have made it a routine business to hunt for the coupons, fill them up and forward them with the required remittances. The more intellectual and the more greedy fill up numerous coupons, and remit pretty large sums. Large amounts are collected but only a fraction of the collected amount is distributed as prizes to a lucky few. The Competition concerns have grown to be large establishments with their local agents and collecting systems and head-quarter organisations. These eat away a good portion of the collections. Of course the newspapers get good revenue by advertising these competitions; the Postal Department gets good income; and the banks too should be getting their remuneration for the services they render. Racing is condemned, gambling is prohibited, and lotteries considerably

restricted, but these competitions are allowed to puzzle the world.

This cross-word craze is spreading like wild fire. New organisations and newer forms of competitions creep in every day. More and more people are being attracted to them every day and greater is the drain of the poor - man's resources. All want Easy Money and Too Much of it. A lot of their time and energy is being wasted on this coupon business. Everyday they see that while one gloats with his prizes, thousands and lakhs of people turn away disappointed, but the craze for the unearned money does not diminish on that account.

It is high time that this receives the public attention it deserves. This gambling has proved as ruinous as the other forms. The moral depravity it is leading to is a more potential danger. Moral conscience revolts against all forms of exploitation traditional and established. But this new venture is making rapid headway, with its virulent form of exploitation and gambling. Taxation or surcharges instead of checking, only increases the income of these concerns, and may perhaps get some polluted money to the coffers of the State. A few annas more for the coupon or a few thousand less as prize do not drive away the habitual competitor. Drastic action - total suppression of this is the only remedy.

(Continued from page 192)

The form of Pledge for using only hand-made or hand-processed articles of cloth and food

Name of the Article	to be observed at home only	to be observed at home and outside
1 Cloth-Khadi (a) made of one's own yarn
(b) Certified by A. I. S. A.
2 Hand-pounded Rice
3 Hand-ground Flour
4 Oil, made by <i>ghani</i> (Village Oil-Press)
5 Jaggery, palm-gur, etc., made by hand-process
6 Other handmade village articles

Note:- Please mark × in the column against the item about which the pledge is taken.

Place - Full address in
block letters

Signature

NOTES AND NEWS

SHRI KUMARAPPA'S 60TH BIRTHDAY

Shri J. C. Kumarappa returned to Wardha in the last week of Dec. '51 after visiting China and Japan. The sixtieth birthday was celebrated in Maganwadi, Wardha on the 4th January 1952. There were messages from The President of the Republic, Vinobaji and others. At a public meeting presided over by Shri Kaka Kalelkar the Souvenir volume with the title 'The Economics of Peace; The Cause and the Man' was presented to Shri. Kumarappa, by Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju on behalf of the Celebration Committee. Shri Dhirendra Mazumdar, Shri G. Ramachandran, Miss. Muriel Lester and others spoke on the occasion. Shri J. C. Kumarappa expressed his gratitude to all his friends and well-wishers, and said that his recent visit to China and Japan has only confirmed his faith that the Gandhian way was the best for India.

The Souvenir volume is a brilliant symposium on Gandhiji's Creative Revolution contributed by the present leaders in the constructive field.

YARN OFFERINGS FOR SARVODAYA MELA

The Sarva Seva Sangh has decided to make use of the yarn offerings collected all over the country during the Sarvodaya Mela for such institutions that are conducted mainly on the principle of labour, without depending upon monetary donations.

The yarn offerings for the Mela can be given at the places where Gandhiji's ashes were immersed and where the Sarvodaya Mela will be celebrated on the 12th February. Those who are not able to visit such places can deliver their yarn offerings to the batches of Sarvodaya Yatrees during their march to places of Mela. Others may deliver their yarn hanks at the nearest Khadi Bhandar or Khadi Vastralaya of the All-India Spinners' Association or to such Kathayi Mandals and other agencies authorised by the A. I. S. A., and the Sarva Seva Sangh and obtain a receipt for the same. A slip should be attached to it mentioning the name and address of the donor in block letters so that these names can be registered in the office of the Sarva Seva Sangh.

THE SARVODAYA YATRA

The All-India Spinners' Association has arranged to send different batches of its workers and outsiders on Sarvodaya Yatra from 30th Jan. to 12th Feb. '52. Such batches will cover a number of villages on the way doing propaganda and collecting yarn offerings for the Sarvodaya Mela. The daily programme on the lines suggested by Shri. Dhirendra Mazumdar (see *Khadi World* Jan. '52 page 149) is as follows:

DAILY PROGRAMME

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| A. M. 5 | Rising from bed - morning ablutions |
| 6 | —Prayer |
| 7 to 10 | —Community work like Public cleaning - digging trench latrines, pits for compost manure - construction of public road - repair of tanks etc. |
| 10 to 12 | —Bath and meals etc. |
| P. M. 1 to 3 | —Repair of charkhas etc., and technical service. |
| 3 to 5 | —March to the village as per programme. |
| 5 to 6 | —Survey of the village conditions. |
| 6 to 7 | —Sacrificial spinning - collection of yarn offerings for Mela. |
| 7 | —Prayer. |
| 7-30 to 8-30 | Discussions and discourses. |
| 9 | —Meals. |

THE PLEDGE FOR BOYCOTT

Readers would be following all the articles of Shri. Dhirendra Mazumdar urging on the necessity of individuals taking a pledge to boycott the use of mill-made or mill-processed articles of food and cloth atleast, and to use exclusively such articles as are made or processed by hand. This is the only way to redeem the society from the exploitation of the centralized industrialization. During the Sarvodaya *Paksha* from 30th Jan. to 12th Feb., it will be most appropriate to take a vow in the form suggested below. Readers who desire to strictly adhere to the pledge are requested to sign on a similar form and send it to us for publication in the *Khadi World*. (See page 191)

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